

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 4662

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFO, OAU, EG, XF
SUBJ: ASSESSMENT OF AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT

REF CAIRO 4124 AND PREVIOUS,

SUMMARY: MOST SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT WERE ARAB AID, SOLIDARITY, RENEWED CALL FOR ISOLATION OF ISRAEL AND DOMINANCE OF MODERATES. OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST WERE CHINESE PLEASURE AT SOVIET DISCOMFORT, POSSIBLE ROLE IN AFRICA OF SAUDI ARABIA, LACK OF SUCCESS BY LIBYA, BENIN AND ETHIOPIA IN ATTRACTING SUPPORT; AND NON-MENTION OF CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA. END SUMMARY

1. ARAB MONEY; MUCH TOUTED TANZANIAN RESOLUTION, CALLING FOR \$2 BILLION IN ARAB ASSISTANCE WAS KILLED BY MUTUAL ARAB-AFRICAN AGREEMENT DURING MINISTERIAL PHASE OF SUMMIT. ARAB GROUP WAS PRIVATELY INSULTED THAT IT CONTAINED NO MENTION OF PREVIOUS ARAB GENEROSITY AND, IN FACT, SAW IT AS CRITICISM OF ARAB PARSIMONY. AFRICAN GROUP, HAD BECOME AWARE OF ARAB SENSIBILITIES AND AGREED THAT PRESSING FOR TANZANIAN RESOLUTION COULD BE COUNTER PRODUCTIVE. AFRICANS WENT AWAY HAPPY WITH \$1.5 BILLION IN ASSISTANCE ARABS FINALLY ANNOUNCED, ALTHOUGH THIS DELIGHT TEMPERED BY CONCERN THAT:
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(A)) NO INDICATION OVER WHAT PERIOD AID WOULD BE GIVEN

(B) MODALITIES OF TRANSFERRING ASSISTANCE VAGUE AND LIKELY TO TAKE SOME TIME TO WORK OUT

(C) NO CASH IN HAND

(D) EVIDENCE THAT ARABS WOULD BE PARTICULAR ABOUT SPECIFIC WAYS ASSISTANCE CAPITAL WOULD BE USED.

2. ARABS HAD PLANNED TO ANSWER TANZANIAN PROPOSAL WITH PREFIX TO WORKING PAPER WHICH WOULD PROUDLY OUTLINE PAST ARAB AID TO THIRD WORLD OF SOME \$26 BILLION. THEY REALIZED, HOWEVER, THAT AFRICAN ITSELF HAD GOTTEN LESS THAN \$2 BILLION OF THE \$26 BILLION, THE REST GOING TO ARAB AND ISLAMIC BRETHREN, AND CONCLUDED THAT HARD FOR ONGOING AID FIGURE, WHICH WOULD MEET AT LEAST MINIMAL AFRICAN EXPECTATION, WOULD BE NECESSARY. IN SELLING FINAL FIGURES, SOURCES SAY, ARABS HAD SUCCESSFULLY (AND CLEVERLY) SOLD ARGUMENT THAT DONOR COUNTRIES WERE ALSO UNDERDEVELOPED, AND MUST TEND TO THEIR OWN NEEDS AND THAT MIDDLE EAST STRUGGLE, AS JOINING AFRICAN AND ARAB UNDERTAKING, HAD FIRST CALL ON FINANCES. MODALITIES, SOURCE AGREED, WERE INTENTIONALLY LEFT VAGUE SO AS TO LAVE ARABS (I.E., SAUDIS, KUWAITIS, QATARIES) WITH MAXIMUM LEVERAGE OVER HOW, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY TO WHOM AID WOULD BE CHANNLED. SOME REGIMES POLITICALLY MORE DESERVING THAN OTHERS AND PROVISION FOR "BILATERAL FUNDS" IN SUMMIT'S FINANCIAL/ECONOMIC DECLARATION WAS REFLECTION OF THIS.

3. SOLIDARITY, CONF DEOMONSTRATED THAT AFRICANS AND ARABS ARE CAPABLE OF NEGOTIATING EN MASSE AND ARRIVING PUBLICLY AT COMMON APPROACHES TO GENERAL BUT NOT SPECIFIC PROBLEMS. ARABS AND AFRICANS, BUT PARTICULARLY EGYPTIANS, WERE SENSITIVE TO PRECONFERENCE SPECULATION THAT MEETING LIKELY TO COLLAPSE IN WELTER OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RECRIMINATIONS. NONE
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OF THIS MATERIALIZED MUCH TO RELIEF OF HOST. AFRICANS TOOK LINE THAT ASSISTANCE FIGURES PER SE WERE, IN FINAL ANALYSIS, LESS IMPORTANT THAN PRINCIPLES OF LONG TERM COOPERATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF MECHANISM FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

4. CONF WAS CAREFULLY PREPARED SO AS TO AVOID EMERGENCE OF DISTRACTING OR DIVISIVE BILATERAL ISSUES AND WAS CLEARLY SUCCESSFUL IN DOING SO. MAIN TROUBLEMAKERS WERE:

BENIN, WHICH ATTEMPTED RAISE QUESTION OF COUP ATTEMPT (WHICH HAD ALREADY CAUSED MOROCCAN WALKOUT FROM OAU) BUT WAS DISMISSED WITH ANODYNE STATEMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS THAT SUMMIT WAS NEITHER TIME NOR PLACE;

LIBYA, FOR ATTEMPTING ATTACK SYRIAN-EGYPTIAN-SUDANESE ARRANGEMENTS CONCLUDED AT KHARTOUM;

ETHIOPIA, WHICH HAD TRIED TO INTRODUCE RESOLUTUONS CALLING FOR CONDEMNATION OF SEPARAIST MOVEMENTS AND FOR BOYCOTT OF ANY

COMPANIES INVOLVED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY IN SUPPLYING RHODESIA OR SOUTH AFRICA WITH OIL. BOTH WERE KILLED, LATTER BECUASE ARABS SAW SUCH RESOLUTION AS BOTH IMPOSSIBLE TO ENFORCE AND AGAINST THEIR OWN INTERESTS. ETHIPIANS WENT AWAY MAD.

5. SOUTHERN AFRICA; AFRICANS MAY HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED WITH LACK OF SPECIAL ASSITANCE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN "CONFRONTATION STATES". ARABS COULD EASILY DECLARE TOTAL SOLIDARITY FOR LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN GENERAL WITHOUT FEELING NEED TO SUPPORT SPECIFIC POLICIES OF CONCERNED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IMPLICATION WAS THAT, AS FAR AS ARABL DONORS CONCERNED, SOME OF PERSONALITIES AND REGIMES INVOLVED WERE NOT WORTHY OF ASSISTANCE AND THEREFORE NO PUBLIC POSITION ON ACROSS THE BOARD AID COULD BE TAKEN.

6. ZIONISM/RACISM: CAIRO DECLARATION CLEARLY IMPLIED CONTINUEING SUPPORT FOR EQUATING ZIONISM AND RACISM, BUT AVOIDED
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FORUMULATING IT AS DIRECTLY AND SPECIFICALLY AS IN PAST. WE ARE TOLD THAT THIS REFLECTS DIFFICULTY SOME AFRICAN STATES HAVE WITH THE CONCEPT (SENEGAL AND IVORY COAST SPECIFICALLY). SUBJECT WAS TREATED AS ONE OF POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE ISSUES BETTER HANDLED IN LOW KEY. A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE FOR ARABS WAS CONTINUING POLITICAL/DIP ISOLATION OF ISRAEL, AND FACT THAT CONF SUPPORTED THAT OBJECTIVE WAS FAR MORE IMPORTANT FROM ARAB POINT OF VIEW.

7. CUBANS: CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA APPARENTLY NOT DISCUSSED IN PLENARY DESPITE FACT SOME AFRICANS FIND THEIR PRESENCE OBNOXIOUS, AGAIN PROBABLY TO AVOID DIVISIVE ISSUES.

8. SIGNIFICANT SPILLOVER EFFECT OF CONF WAS THAT SUCCESS OF MODERATES ON BOTH SIDES PRODUCED SOVIET DISCOMFITURE AS EVIDENCE IN OBVIOUS CHINESE PLEASURE. SOVIETS HHERE HAVE, TO BE SURE, DONE THEIR BEST TO MINIMIZE BOTH IMPORTANCE OF CONF AND ITS RESULTS, BUT THEY SURELY MUST FEAR SPREAD OF SAUDI BRAND OF ANTI-COMMUNITS ACTIVITY IN AFRICA.

9. EGYPT: CONF WAS IMPORTANT PERSONAL VICTORY FOR SADAT AND SUBSTANTIALLY RAISES HIS PRESTIGE IN BOTH AFRICAN AND ARAB CIRCLES. HOLDING OF MAMMONTH CONF IN WAKE OF JAN RIOTS DEMONSTRATED STABILITY. (EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS MAY OVERSTATE THIS IN THEIR RELIEF THAT IT DID NOT TURN OUT A FIASCO). CONF ALSO REPRESENTED AMAZING LOGISTICAL SUCCESS.

10. BOTTOM LINE: CONF WAS A SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING ITS MAIN PURPOSES: PROVE THAT ARABS AND AFRICANS CAPABLE OF MAINTAINING BROAD SOLIDARITY, SECURE MAXIMUM CONTINUED POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR ARABS, AND FOCUS ARAB ATTENTION ON NEED FOR FINANCIAL

INJECTION INTO AFRICAM IN ADDITION, SOLIDARITY OF NON-ALIGNED
MOVEMENT MAY BE REINFORCED.

11. DEPT REPEAT AS DESIRED.

MATTHEWS

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